



**Doctoral School of
Sociology**

THESIS SYNOPSIS

Hanna Edit Kónya

The emergence of a transnational elite

**A methodological approach for the definition and identification of the
Csángó elite.**

titled Ph.D. dissertation

Supervisors:

László Letenyei, Ph.D.

José Luis Molina, Dr. Prof.

Budapest, 2012

Institute of Sociology and Social Policy

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A disszertáció a TÁMOP-4.2.1.B-09/1/KMR-2010-0005 azonosítójú projektje Hatékony állam, szakértő közigazgatás, regionális fejlesztések a versenyképes társadalomért címet viselő alprojektjének kutatási tevékenysége eredményeként készült.



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1. Research Framework

Hungarians from Moldova form a very heterogeneous society based on their origins, establishment in Moldova, degree of assimilation, dialect, generation, etc. Although many papers and books were written about this community, even the denomination is complicated. There is no uniform name accepted by Hungarian and Romanian scientists as well. Denomination is not problematic only for investigators who usually are outsiders, but occasionally for the members of the Csángó community as well. Hungarian and Romanian scholars as well most frequently use the notion of “Csángó”, still they are not necessarily referring to the same group of people. The term of Catholic from Moldova is also quite often used, since being Catholics among the orthodox majority is the factor that characterizes them the best. While the term of Catholic from Moldova is much more neutral by being usable regardless of ethnicity or the level of assimilation, is also less informative by hiding the internal diversity of the group. Opting to use the term of Csángó is supported by two arguments, firstly that the investigation refers to the part of the elite that has Hungarian ethnic identity and consciousness, and secondly that the subjects of the investigation refer to themselves as Csángó or Csángó-Hungarian.

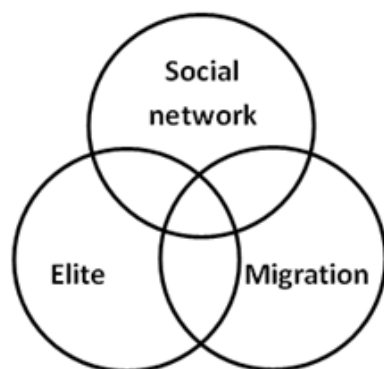
Although elite studies have great heritage in social sciences this investigation can be innovative on at least four fronts:

- a.) **Focuses on a developing elite:** Csángós were barely present in the national and international social scientific and public knowledge, they appeared in the Transylvanian and Hungarian scientific scene mostly after the regime change, when several ethnographic and linguistic results were published. A preconception often met in publications focusing on Csángós is that the Csángó society doesn't have its cohesive, urban citizenry, intellectual, artisan strata. (More details in Pozsony, 2003) Organizing the Hungarian teaching of Csángós in Csíkszereda at the beginning of the 90s had the declared role of developing the Csángó intellectual strata missed by scientists.
- b.) **Implements the feedback received from the community:** The investigation does not approach the elite topic, by speaking about elites, but speaking with elites of a community and speaking about elites with the community as well. Due to the colorful methodology used, important feedback is received, feedback that was necessary in order to have a valid description of the Csángó elite.
- c.) **Focuses on a transnational elite:** Because of the new possibilities brought by the regime change, especially in international migration, social, economic and human capital started to make a difference, to develop the stratification of villages and to layer migrant communities as well even if these occasionally happened outside of Moldova. Geographic division to states and regions appears very markedly in social sciences, especially in elite studies where some are seen as elites, leaders, high prestige members, etc. precisely because they are fulfilling special roles and have specific jobs inside of well defined geographic boundaries. If Hungarian teaching was indeed, the channel that

allowed the development of intellectuals and elites, instead of focusing only on Romania, it should be acknowledged that the Csángó elite is transnational as it considers its development and the residence of its members. We have to see the closed or semi-closed concentricity which starts in Moldova, having major stations in Csíkszereda and Budapest.

d.) Due to previously presented characteristics **the level of the research is not restricted geographically on one region**: by not excluding elites who are abroad it is hard to decide whether the study and its findings are on a local level, or whether it is regional or maybe transnational? Arguments can be sustained in each of the three cases. Methods of identifying the elite are typical for the local level, elites are elites on a local level, some on a regional level, but geographically they are present in a transnational level. The transnational space from the title can be visualized and understood by this, it is not only the conglomeration of the main stations in the life course of several Csángós, and it is not only the space of the elite development, is both!

Summarizing the entire research in one sentence would be: “Why are exactly these individuals seen/named as the Csángó elite?” In order to understand processes through which elites reach the advantageous positions they fulfill in society several literatures came to my help. The theoretical approach is three folded, first elite definitions and identifications were reviewed and although elite investigations are mostly conducted by sociologists and historians the anthropological approach, focusing on traditional societies seemed closer in identifying Csángó elites. (Shore & Nugent, 2002; Marcus, 1983; Fumanti, 2004; Konrad, 2002; Nugent, 2002) Second pillar was given by social network analysis, focusing first of all on social capital and social positions. (Kadushin, 1966, 1968, 1995; Coleman, 1988; Granovetter, 1973; Bourdieu, 1986; Putnam, 2000; Burt, 2001,2002; Lin, 1999; Freeman, 1977; Obstfeld, 2005; Fernandez & Gould, 1999; Katz, 1957; Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955; Menzel & Katz, 1955-1956) Third approach refers to (transnational) migration and its consequences, where I highly relied on Dumitru Sandu’s works (Sandu, 2005; Portes & Böröcz, 2001; Stark & Taylor, 1991; Papademetriou, 1978; Portes, 1994, 2000; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Shain, 1999-2000) Migrations patterns and consequences of guest working were analyzed in the case of Csángós as well, although only few articles were published, they served as great help. (Pozsony, 2003; Hegyeli, 1999; Mohácsék & Vitos, 2005; Adler-Lomnitz & Gonzalez, 2007) The theoretical approach sustaining the Csángó elite topic stands at the intersection of these theories.



1. Figure Theoretical approaches

2. Methodology and data

During fieldwork the first goal was to receive feasible field knowledge, to understand the relations, to recognize the actors and to speak the same language, to use similar concepts that the subjects do. Starting with the summer of 2006 I spent longer or shorter periods of time in Moldova, and since the beginning of my PhD studies in Budapest I've got an insight to the life and concerns of those who came to study and after graduation settled in Hungary. Deciding who is part of the Csángó elite, proved to be the toughest question of the research, not only to the more or less outsider researcher but to well informed insiders as well. Conducting elite investigations requires a very operational methodology. Three methods were used, interviewing, social network analysis and questionnaires. Dealing with a hidden community in a sense that is hard to define its members the classical methods used in sociology – and classic elite investigations as well – are not operational.

32 interviews were conducted mostly with members of the Csángó elite – some of them representatives of organizations as well – and the leaders, or one of the leaders of 4 important organizations. Interview subjects were selected through a snowball-sample (Who do you consider as member of the Csángó elite? for all nominations justification was also asked, respondents were asked to give their own elite definitions), focusing on those who were named more than twice. During data collection name generation questions were used. This approach – beside the uncertainty of the group composition – was also required because after the 1990s the Csángó (folk) culture became very fashionable in Hungary and nowadays it is promoted and supported by several NGOs and politicians. Snowball sampling was the optimal way to encounter those subjects that are seen as elites by other Csángós, instead of creating some categories that later would have proved to be useless or null. Interviewees were informed about the topic of the research only in keywords. To avoid influencing their opinion or imposing an approach, an interpretation, the boundaries of the topic were kept wide enough during interviews that all interviewees to be able to give his/her own definition of it. (Lee, 1993)

Using snowball sampling is a question when the number of subjects suffices. Literature stresses that including new subjects is not necessary if by that no new information would come to light. At this point the sample size can be considered optimal. (Patton, 1990), (Seidman, 2003) During interviewing only the first and last question was fixed, the order of the other topics was given by the thread of the discussion. Adjusting the order of questions according to each interview is sustained by the literature as well. (Héra & Ligeti, 2006) The length of the interviews was different, from one hour to nearly 5 hours.

| | Elite | | Representative | | Total |
|-------------------|-----------|----------|----------------|----------|-----------|
| | Hungary | Romania | Hungary | Romania | |
| Csángó | 14 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 27 |
| Not Csángó | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| Total | 14 | 5 | 7 | 6 | 32 |

Table 1: Distribution of interview subjects

Second name generator question is linked to the relational data, when respondents were asked to name all those with whom they are collaborating in the Csángó matter, which can be best defined as the preservation of the Csángó culture and the representation of the society¹. From the three types – whole network, ego network and personal network – of social network analysis², whole network analysis is the optimal method to show the roles and positions elites fulfill in the Csángó matter. Relational data regarding the collaboration in Csángó topics was collected from 44 subjects, later these ego-networks were merged into one network showing all named collaborations. Relational data was collected from elites, representatives of organizations and non elites as well, who are active and daily basis in the Csángó matter. Those who are elites and representatives as well are included as representatives.

| | Elite | | Representative | | Not elite Romania | Total |
|-------------------|-----------|----------|----------------|----------|----------------------|-----------|
| | Hungary | Romania | Hungary | Romania | | |
| Csángó | 14 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 0 | 27 |
| Not Csángó | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 13 | 17 |
| Total | 14 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 13 | 44 |

Table 2: Distribution of respondents of the relational data

Depending on the level of the investigation three types of networks can be differentiated. When the social entities are individuals, the network is of interpersonal relations, if the related entities are social groups the network is among social groups, classes or organizations, while when relation is referring to countries or regions, then the network is among these entities. (Szántó & Tóth, 1993: 45) In order to follow up the position of elites in different networks – on interpersonal level – the investigation starts from the network containing only the elites as Egos – those

¹ The Csángó matter includes cultural, social, health, religious, education, etc. aspects as well and involves several organizations, foundations, political parties and individuals. Activity in the Csángó matter or in some aspects of it aims to preserve the cultural characteristics, to slow the assimilation process, to keep or reintroduce the Hungarian language to schools and masses, to publish scientific works about the past and present of this minority, etc.

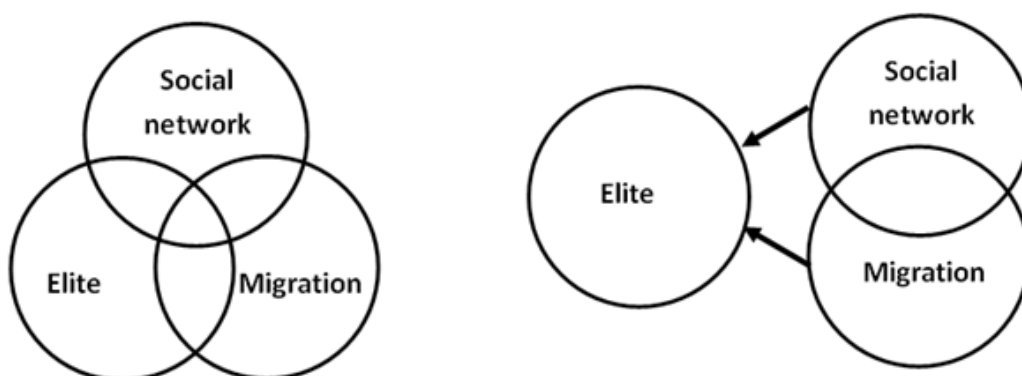
² For the study of networks, two softwares were used: UCInet6 (<http://www.analytictech.com/ucinet/>) for the analysis of the cooperation networks and EgoNet (<http://sourceforge.net/projects/egonet/>) was used to collect and merge relational data received from subjects.

respondents that named their relations regarding the Csángó matter – then to this network alters named by them were added, then those respondents are added who are representing the most important organizations present in the topic and finally teachers of the MCSMSZ, employees who are active by their job in the Csángó matter were also added. A follow up of these networks answers whether elites are indeed central actors of the Csángó matter and if they manage to maintain their advantageous position when new actors are added. When speaking about relations among organizations it is very important to clarify that being highly embedded, makes it hard to separate whether the relation is actually among the organization – sustained by representatives – or among individuals. Relations analyzed at the level of regions and countries are also included.

It is important to see if elites are recognized and acknowledged or not by the community they wish to represent. In order to receive feedback for the qualitative data and for the elite generated by the snowball sample representative data was collected in one locality. 182 (42,3% of households) questionnaires with 17 questions were asked in Magyarfalu.

The multitude of methods and approaches aimed to give feed-back about the composition of the elite and the prestige and recognition of the members. Quantitative data is used to test results drawn from the qualitative investigation. Lilleker (2003:208) underlines that as much data can be collected by interviewing, one has to be very clear that using solely this method has serious fallbacks and must be confirmed by other data or the interview sample should be very broad with the same odds for everyone to be selected as subjects.

The already presented three folded theoretical approach changes as it concerns how elite is defined during this investigation, namely social network characteristics (roles and positions in the Csángó matter), migration experiences and the interaction of these are explaining why some are seen as elites



2. Figure: Theoretical approach and empirical definition of elites

3. Results and further investigation directions

Arens and Bein point out that Moldva is still one of the less developed regions of Europe. The authors see the underdevelopment in political culture and mentality, economic aspects,

infrastructure and several fields of the everyday life. They consider that the 1989 regime change did not reduce the distance toward west and there are two questions that are still open: first the situation of those Csángós, who are not yet assimilated. The question refers to their development and the confrontation - which due to the information society is more obvious and stronger than ever, regarding the origin and identity issues – with the already assimilated Csángós, just as with the laic and clerical elite. Second question listed is their fitting to the majority orthodox society. (Arens & Bein, 2004: 130) Taking further these questions one could ask how can (if they can) those Catholics who kept their ethnic minority, Hungarian culture and status assert their interest and will they be in conflict or cooperation with the community and the society they are living in? Advocacy is often made by elites, but what happens if a society is seen and spoken of as having no elites, no intellectuals? Is that so indeed? Who are those to fulfill these roles and these positions?

At the beginning of this investigation I had a very firm hypothesis namely that the primary elite group is to be formed by those current or former migrants who are the key figures in the migration channels in the transmission of labor force from Moldova to other countries and the transmission of information. I assumed that from each village, or at least neighboring villages, networks are built to sustain guest working chains. I also assumed that migrants who left the village with the purpose of education and settled in other regions and countries are likely to be seen as elites yet their odds are lower simply for not being present in the everyday life of the community. One might say that I couldn't be more wrong, or more right in the same time. As the investigation followed its course it became more and more clear that the Csángó elite – just as the Csángó community can't be described as a homogeneous group. The observation of Halász, the “total lack of stratification by wealth” (Halász, 2002:142) seems less and less valid.

So what conclusion did the research brought to the initial question of what are the factors defining and as such ensuring elite position to Csángós?

3.1. Elite defined by roles and positions in the Csángó matter cooperation network

It can be said that being highly involved in the Csángó matter helps but is not enough. Elites are fulfilling the roles of opinion leaders and opinion brokers but they are not the only ones who do so, formal and informal leaders of major organizations are also possessing social capital efficiently used in the Csángó matter. Organizations and foundations active in the Csángó matter are in competition and competition stands not only among groups but among individuals, among elites as well.

Based on Betweenness³ 17 actors were selected as central in one or several networks, following figure shows how the central position changed as more and more actors were added to the network.

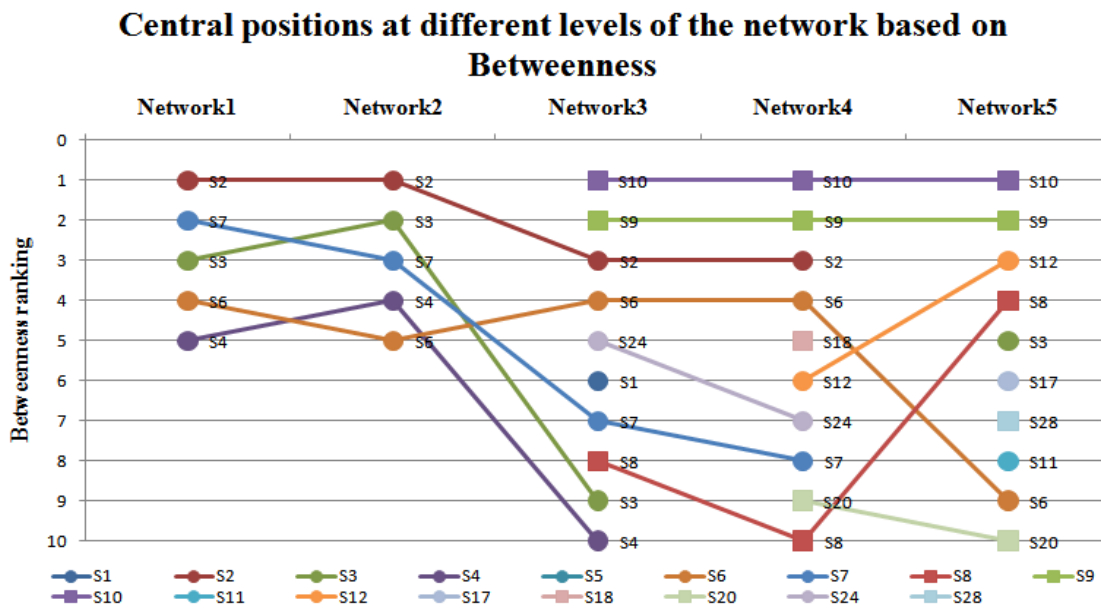


Figure 3: Maintaining central position in networks according to Betweenness (Legend: ○Csángó, □ Not Csángó.)

- From the total of 17 actors 11 are Csángós. Compared to indegree and outdegree it seems that when it comes to intermediating positions (betweenness) the proportion of non-Csángós is slightly higher among central actors of the Csángó matter.
- Strongest position is of S10 and S9 who as included in the networks occupy first position.
- S6, a Csángó priest living in Hungary, who was also named as elite, is fulfilling the intermediate role in all networks.
- S2 and S3 both mentioned as elites are present in four out of five networks, they are members of dense networks in Moldova and Hungary as well.

3.2. Elite defined by migration experiences

Migrational experiences do have a positive effect on the odds of being named as elites but are no preconditions of it. While elites do have migration experiences, is not simply that what ensures them elite position, is rather their way of living and mostly activity in the life of the community. While activity and key position in the everyday life of the community and the Csángó matter has a direct effect on the elite nomination migration seem to have a direct effect on these activities and as such an indirect effect on elite nominations as well.

Migration among Csángós has mainly two forms, with the goal of learning or working abroad. One important aspect of the elite education of Csángós in Transylvania was whether they will be able to return to Moldova or not. Parents were conscious that by opting for their children to learn in

³ the change of Indegree and Outdegree was also analyzed in the dissertation, but as Betweenness shows whether one is connecting otherwise not connected actors here only this is discussed

Transylvania when they return to Moldova will encounter serious difficulties. Although many opted to remain in Hungary and in Transylvania, several returned home and managed to be successful and appreciated in Moldova. One consequence was the influence on strengthening the Hungarian identity of those Csángós who enrolled to migration with the goal of learning in Hungarian.

“89-90 után megjelent a lehetőség a magyar nemzethez tartozás, a magyar nyelv a hagyományos kultúra megőrzésének, ápolásának a lehetősége, mint egy hiány. Hogyan próbálták ezt a hiányt pótolni, gyerekek száza indultak el szerencsét próbálni. Egy más világba kerültek, mindenik a maga próbatételét megkellett, hogy állja, lekelljen küzdeje a nehézségeket. A nehézségek is fokozódtak, ugyanakkor saját magukat is keresték, még most is keresik s így próbálnak visszaérni, hogy a hiányt betöltsék. Persze újukba nagyon sok nehézség és az álhősök – mint a mesékben – kerültek, akik késleltetik, megakadályozzák, kihasználják, manipulálják a helyzetet. Saját magam életéből tudom nagyon nehéz, nagyon nehéz célba érni és ki tudja, csak a Jóisten tudja ki hogyan ér célba. De mindenki a maga felkészültsége, tehetsége, hivatástudata szellemében teljesíti szolgálatát, ki a családját neveli magyar emberként, ki a szakmájában, ki a kutatásban, ki a közösség felépítésében bent a programban és ki egyáltalán azzal, hogy nem bánta meg, hogy elindult az úton, szép életet élő ember. Én így látom, és nem tudnám azt mondani, márpedig kötelező hazamenni és otthon dolgozni, rájön ő magától mikor tud hazamenni és mikor tud otthon dolgozni. Anélkül, hogy valaki kötelezte volna őket volt, aki hazament volt, aki nem ment haza, volt olyan, aki közvetve segít.”⁴ (older than 51 current leader living in Transylvania)

Beside the affects on ones identity, migration played an important role on who are seen as role models in Csángó communities?

„Ha vissza gondolunk, hogy ennek előtte az volt az értelmiségi egy faluban, aki ezeket szinte mind tudta, hogy mondjuk, hogy kell meggyógyítani, milyen burjánnyal vagy efféle, ez volt jó tudás. Aztán az volt, akinek iskolája volt, arra felnéztek. Most már olyan nagy ez a mindennapi ... olyan nehéz ... aki hazajön nagy autókkal, ma az valaki.”⁵ (older than 51 current leader living in Moldova)

3.3 Elite defined by migration experiences and roles and positions in the Csángó matter network

Being a transnational elite, representing the community slightly differs for elites living in Moldova and Hungary. Statistical investigation did not bring any significant results to the hypothesis for

⁴ After 89-90 there appeared the possibility to belong to the Hungarian nation, the Hungarian language, the possibility of preserving the traditional culture as a deficiency. How they tried to fill this gap, hundreds of children enrolled to try their fortune. They ended up in a different world, each had to face their own tests, had to overcome their own difficulties. Difficulties intensified and in the same time they were searching themselves, they still do, and this is how they try to turn back and fill the lack. Of course in their path difficulties and several false heroes appeared, just like in fables, who are delaying, preventing, exploiting and manipulating the situation. I know from my own life that is very difficult, very difficult to achieve the goal, and who knows, only God knows how they reach their destination. But all of them serve the goal based on their preparedness, talent, vocation, by raising a family as Hungarian person, in their profession, research, in the development of the community being present in the program (MCSMSZ) and even by not being sorry for taking this road and living a nice life. This is how I see it, and I could not say to anyone that is compulsory to go home and work there, they will figure out on their own can they go home and work home. Without being obligated, some returned, some didn't, and some are helping indirectly.

⁵ If we think back, before intellectual was someone who knew all this, what herbs heal this and so on, this was good knowledge. Than those, who had a degree, they were respected. Now is so big this everyday is difficult ... one who comes home with s big car is someone.

whom is more important activity in the Csángó matter and without deciding interviews seem to underline that in the case of Csángós settled in Hungary – because of the sense of duty and pangs of consciousness for living others behind – activity is more important, on the other hand those in Moldova can be and are more active.

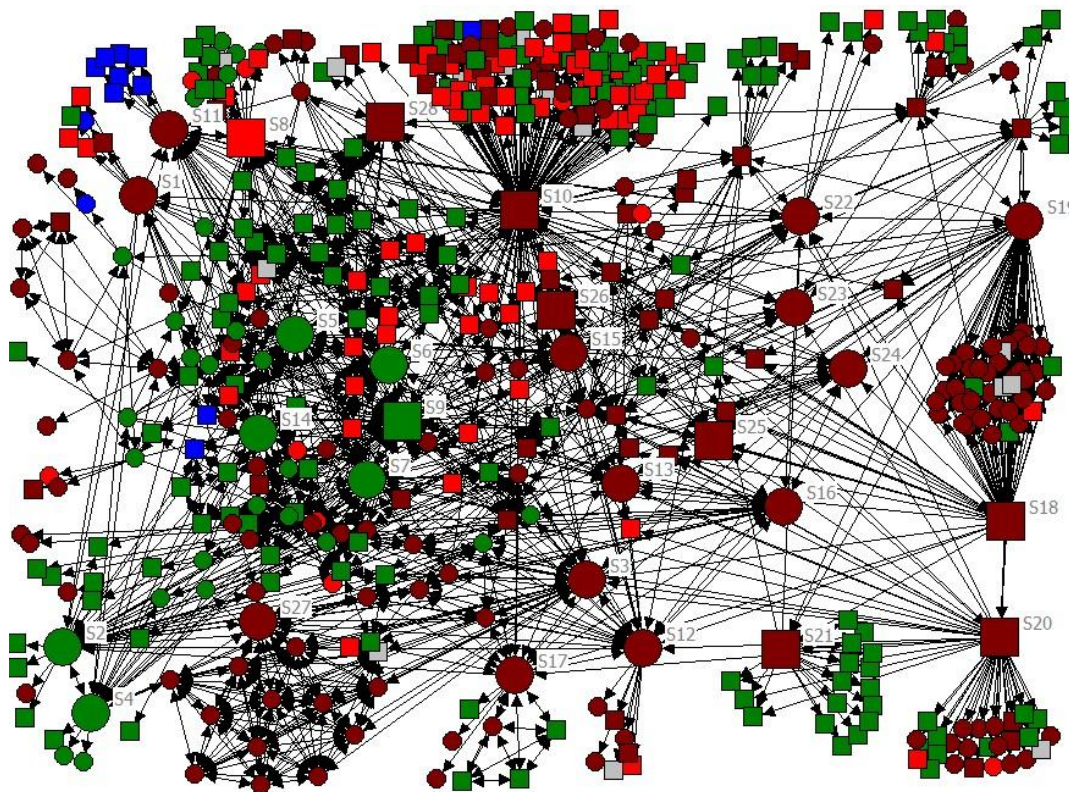


Figure 4: Network of all named in the Csángó matter by location and by being Csángó or not (Legend: ● Moldova, ● Romania but Moldova, ● Hungary, ● Other, ● No data; ○ Csángó, □ Not Csángó.)

The proportion of those who are living in Moldova and those who are in Hungary is almost the same in the cooperation network.

| | Moldova | Romania (but Moldova) | Hungary | Other | No Data | Total |
|--------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| Csángó | 134 27,8% | 9 1,8% | 31 6,4% | 2 0,4% | 0 0% | 176 36,5% |
| Not Csángó | 54 11,2% | 71 14,7% | 156 32,4% | 11 2,3% | 14 2,9% | 305 63,3% |
| Total | 188 39% | 80 16,6% | 186 38,6% | 13 2,7% | 14 2,9% | 482 100% |

Table 3: Distribution of respondents based on geographic location and being Csángó or not.

The network is not divided along geographic regions; there are many relations that link together Moldova, other parts of Romania and Hungary and elites and leaders of organizations play important role in connecting regions regardless where they are living. Yet it can be said that those living in Hungary and in Moldova as well seem to name more people from the same region they are living in. Good exceptions are S2 or S3 who are members of dense networks in Moldova and in Hungary as well. S2 living in Hungary while S3 in Moldova shows that crossing geographic borders can be done regardless of the place of residence.

Including several members of the MCSMSZ in the cooperation network obviously the number of relations showing to – or from Moldova is higher (basically we have many burgundy dots with lots of connections). The representatives – S8, S9, S10 – of three major organizations have the most heterogeneous network as it concerns the geographic location of their alters. At this point we have to mention that many alters connected to the Csángó matter – most of them supporters, upholders – are living in Hungary. Alters from Moldova who are similarly linked (only through one person) to the Csángó matter are usually local people, who are occasionally involved to some events, by the teacher of the MCSMSZ. During interviews these relations were often named as “the village”.

Beside elites and representatives others can have central position as well, those teachers who connect many supporters to the Csángó matter and who are active in several aspects of it. Along teaching, they organize different events in the villages, and often manage to bring their own personal network in relation with the Csángó matter. As such they are connected with foreign supporters and local people as well. (ex. S18, S19, S20, S21)

4. Conclusions and further investigation

According to the elite definition given by interviewees – themselves members of the elite and/or active participants of the Csángó matter – is the duty toward the community and the representation of the interests of the community what matters the most in order to consider someone elite. Based on network characteristics and interviews several options can be presented on how one could become elite. In-Degree proved that being in a leading position at the Association of Csángó Hungarians in Moldova ensures high centrality. Being active in only one region – only in Hungary or in Moldova – does not seem enough one has to participate in events and organizational work in both regions. For those living in Hungary involvement in events organized in Moldova is even more important otherwise they will be exclusively named only by others from Hungary. Activity cannot be restrained to only one event or one organization. Bringing in social capital under the form of alters connected to the Csángó matter only to one actor, ensures him/her central position. Fulfilling the role of opinion leader or broker, bridging regions or groups is also of high benefits.

Actors of this investigation – or at least several of them – have a sense of duty, a sense of obligation, a sense of mission toward the emissive community, in narrow meaning the village they are originating from, in broader sense toward the entire Csángó community. Being a minority, activity aiming to propagate their culture, customs and identity – also called the Csángó matter – has a significant role and most active, most talented in some or more aspects, the most eminent are seen by others and/or by themselves as “Csángó elites”. There is a great insecurity in these “Csángó elites” regarding their position in the emissive society, their perception by the community. They are searching for a confirmation from the community that proves not only their ideas about what is the

right path for the Csángó minority but also ratification in their position as elites. The ambivalent relation among elites and community is originating from not having a common Csángó consciousness, community knowledge. The community image seen by outsiders is created, built up and mostly sustained too, by ethnographers and the members of the community do not necessarily identify themselves with this community image, so activism in the preservation of this image by elites is not always appreciated and/or considered important by the community as well.

The topic of the Csángó matter and Csángó elite is not the problem of Csángós solely, is a topic strongly influenced by national and political identity and affiliation. Csángós being at the intersection of Hungarian and Romanian culture, and geographically present in both countries their situation and their concerns should interest not only Csángó activists and elites, but politicians of the two countries and of the European Union. Twenty years after the regime change it can be said that all three levels – the local, national and European – are all present and active, with different interest and force.

The Csángó elite expressing interest in the Csángó matter is the same as the responsible intellectual category applicable 100 years ago, when the intellectual was someone who had the role and the goal of leading the community he/she is representing. The position of higher principles, in debates having the knowledge of the supreme truth is what an intellectual is, and where he stood at the end of the XIXth beginning of the XXth century. Today the intellectual and the elite is differently interpreted and valued, yet in the case of Csángós, the elite – formed by the snowball sampling – wishes to fulfill the leading position of the community on the road that is considered the only that is beneficial for the community. Interviewees speak about the need of having a group of people who are able to think, research and write individually and independently. In order to speak about Csángó elites a group of Csángós are needed who have intellectual increment. It is important to see that the demanded requirements to speak about elites are specific to the intellectual category rather the elite. While there are two different elite definitions with different expectations and requirements, the elite group formed by the snowball sampling – that is elite formed according to the characteristics of the elite – is to some extent confirmed by the community as well. Not accepting only confirmation, it can be observed that in the elite group “seen” by the community, intellectual actors are only at the periphery. For the village high prestige is directing toward materially well situated, successful members of the community who can show results locally. They are the same people who have useful connections and are helpful acquaintances.

The composition of the elite is not only different based on whether its definition is made by the community or by the elite, but it also differs according to the location of the respondent. While priests seem to be the group of elite recognized as such by elites and by the community as well, other elites are strongly criticizing the ethnic identification of priests as factor that makes

impossible their definition as elites. Slightly apart from their Romanian self identification it can be said that the clerical elite is the most certain group of intellectuals and elites in Csángó villages and probably the only with several generations. In several cases their legitimation, their recognition as elites is questioned, yet discussing their role in the Csángó society and their adjudication is indispensable.

Representatives of the Csángó culture – artists, writers, singers, musicians, etc – known by many people in Hungary are not necessarily recognized and appreciated in Moldova as well. Situation is more aggravated if the elite also lives in Hungary. Several interviewees sustain that for the community is more beneficial a locally present, educated (for example a teacher) person and his/her career than a much brighter career in Budapest. The group of local, educated people should be strengthened and supported in their work, although members living abroad also play a major role, because the Csángó consciousness and solidarity is very strong in those who live in Budapest, and they form a strong lobbying power.

Geographic settlement and ethnic identification of the Csángó elite shows a colorful picture, but what exactly ensures someone the elite position was one of the key concerns of this investigation. Like other minority elites, the Csángó elite is in a double difficult position. One difficulty is that as a member of a minority it is hard to be considered as elite on a national level, difficulty that raises at least two observations namely that belonging to the national level should not be seen as a premise, locally one still can be seen as leader or elite, and national level is also a dual concept because in the case of the Csángó elite it can refer to Romania and to Hungary as well. The second difficulty is that by being geographically in two locations who is seen as elite by the community and by outsiders occasionally may differ. Roles of elites might also be different not just geographically but on affirmation and empirical level as well.

Nugent shows that in the case of Amazonian elites, previous elites were foreigners “*imports, in the form of church, military and colonial personnel*”. (Nugent, 2002:64). These are the antecedents of the Csángó elite as well and whether the changes just introduced will solve the conflict – often seen as the conflict among Csángós in Moldova and Csángós in Hungary just as the conflict of non-Csángó activists from Moldova and Csángós from Hungary – and manage to develop a cooperative and purposeful Csángó elite or will deepen the influence of “foreign elites” is the question of future investigations to answer. Just as how future investigations should answer questions like what happens with the children of the elite and mostly what happens with children of elites situated in Hungary? Will they be members of the Romanian respectively Hungarian sority or they will maintain their Csángó identity? Speaking about the lobbying power of the elite members settled in Hungary one could easily argue that the so called first generation can fulfill its role from

Hungary, but will their children also be active members of the Csángó society or they will be integrated in the majority society?

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